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Review of State of the Art: Measuring & mitigating citizens' feelings of insecurity





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1 Introduction

According to Martin Killias, University of Zurich, chair of the “European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics” Project, international comparisons are valuable for policy makers in: a) knowing where they stand in comparison to previous years and/or other countries; b) helping explain why and c) supporting policy making:

“Policy-makers need benchmarks because it is important to know where we stand now in comparison to twenty years ago, or why we are worse or better off than others. Policy makers, at least if they are interested in the wider picture, also want to have these differences explained. Why are we where we are, why one approach does or does not work, what we currently do, where may we be in ten years if present trends continue, and what can we do to influence future changes.”

Killias, 2010, p. 11.

Survey methods are not only used to understand crime by measuring victimisation, but also a range of other factors, including citizens’ feelings of insecurity. Regular administration of the victimisation survey certainly identifies trends over time and provides insight into the causes of crime. In terms of understanding crime, the survey methodology is a valuable source of comparable data on levels of victimisation in different countries. However, the questions used in victimisation surveys to measure feelings of insecurity are more problematic—both in terms of understanding the concept and informing policy. Some of the issues raised are highlighted in this report.

Task 2.6 in Cutting Crime Impact (CCI) aimed reviewed current law enforcement agency (LEA) practice and 'what works' in measuring and addressing citizens’ feelings of insecurity.

This report begins by explaining how feelings of insecurity came to be measured through victimisation surveys first in the United States and later across Europe. Developments in the US inspired European attempts to measure victimisation and also insecurity. The International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS) is a fully standardised survey enables cross-national comparisons of crime victimisation (Van Dijk, 2014; Van Dijk et al., 1990). This report goes on to outline how surveys have been used at a European level, in the form of the ICVS and Eurobarometer. The latter is used to gather information from EU citizens regarding policy issues and priorities, including in relation to security issues.

In addition, this report explores in some detail the measurement of feelings of insecurity in two LEA partner contexts: Catalonia in Spain; and the federal state of Lower Saxony in Germany.

2 Methodology

The aim of Cutting Crime Impact (CCI) Task 2.6 in work package 2, was to review current law enforcement agency (LEA) practice and 'what works' in measuring and addressing citizens' feelings of insecurity. This study focuses on measuring feelings of insecurity in two LEA partner contexts: Catalonia in Spain; and the federal state of Lower Saxony in Germany. Three activities were undertaken to collect data for this report, as follows:

- Review academic and LEA operational literature on measuring and addressing citizens' feelings of insecurity. This involved a review of academic literature resulting from national and EU-funded research projects that addresses the issue of measuring and addressing feelings of insecurity, including Eurobarometer and the International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS). In addition, CCI consortium members gathered relevant background information and examples of existing toolkits, including details on current use, availability, codes and guidelines, format and (where available) impact (see CCI deliverables D2.2 & D2.3).
- Workshop on State of the art in measuring and mitigating citizens' feelings of insecurity in Europe – A workshop with LEA consortium partners (part of Consortium Meeting 2, in Amsterdam: (i) discussed results and issues raised by the research; and (ii) sought to understand and explore different approaches to tool development and delivery relating to measuring and mitigating citizens' feelings of insecurity.
- Identification of 'leaders in the field' of measuring and addressing citizens' feelings of insecurity, from the review of EU-funded projects on measuring insecurity (D2.1) and the review of the state-of-the-art. Four leaders in the field, pioneers in the development of crime victimisation surveys, participated in the workshop with LEA consortium partners in Amsterdam.

3 National Crime Victimization Survey in the US

Researchers and policy makers have since the 1830s attempted to compare changes in criminal activity over time (Killias, 2010, p. 11). Survey methods in Europe have been inspired by US practice and policy.

In 1965, the first survey-based measure of crime was launched. Promoted by former president of the United States Lyndon Johnson, it was initiated in response to rising crime, and the desire to understand the causes of criminality. In the 1960s, the only measure of crime available to policymakers was from data on crime reported to and recorded by law enforcement agencies (LEAs). It was anticipated that the new survey would enable police agencies obtain information about 'unreported crime'—i.e. to tap into the 'dark figure' of crime (Valente et al, 2019).

A self-report survey for collecting information on people's experiences of crime and characteristics associated with their victimisation was designed. The first National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) was carried out in the United States in 1973. The survey asked citizens about their experiences of victimisation, as well as: feelings of safety at home or in the neighbourhood in which they live; fear of being the victim of a crime; assessment of personal risk to being a victim of crime; worry about criminality in general; personal wellbeing; and opinions on the effectiveness of the police and the criminal justice system (Valente et al, 2019). Conducted on an annual basis, the NCVS is delivered by the Bureau of Justice Statistics' (BJS, accessed 27.0219).

Survey data for the NCVS is obtained from a nationally representative sample of about 135,000 households, composed of nearly 225,000 persons, on the frequency, characteristics, and consequences of criminal victimisation in the United States. Survey respondents provide information about themselves (e.g., age, sex, race, marital status, education level, and income). Survey respondents are asked for information about their experiences of victimisation—whether reported to the police or not (BJS, accessed 27.0219):

- Personal crimes – rape or sexual assault, robbery, aggravated and simple assault, and personal larceny
- Household property crimes – burglary, motor vehicle theft, and other theft

For each victimisation incident, the NCVS collects information about the offender (e.g., age, race, sex, and victim-offender relationship), characteristics of the crime (e.g. time and place of occurrence, use of weapons, nature of injury, and economic consequences), whether the crime was reported to police,

reasons the crime was or was not reported, and victim experiences with the criminal justice system (BJS, accessed 27.0219).

The NCVS is the primary source of victimisation data in the US and is described as an integral part of crime statistics (Valente et al, 2019). The data from such surveys can support policy makers and LEAs in a number of ways (Langton et al, 2017). Importantly, the data helps understand why victims do not report to the police, why certain victims seek and receive services when others do not and whether victims receive support in preventing repeat victimisation. This latter point is significant for the prevention of crime—a focus for CCI. The data is also used to measure the performance of public sector organisations by assessing outcomes, such as satisfaction with police response and with victim services. In addition, the survey is a way to obtain reliable information on the consequences or harm associated with the crime event. By following some victims over time, such surveys allow for the study of longer impact and support from public services. Finally, the NCVS may be used to obtain information to help track community wellbeing. Langton et al, (2017), notes that in the 21st Century Policing Task Force Report, the use of surveys is called for to track the level of residents' trust in their communities. Indeed, interest in communities appears to be influencing the design of surveys to enable greater analysis at the neighbourhood or 'micro' indeed level.

In part influenced by the NCVS in the US, survey-based measures of crime and insecurity have been adopted internationally: (i) African countries – Nigeria, Rwanda, Egypt, Kenya and South Africa (under the guidance of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime), (ii) Asia – for example, the International Public Safety Survey in Kyrgyzstan in 2015 and (iii) Latin American and Caribbean countries – through the VCLAC-LACSI initiative (United Nations Economic and Social Council, 2015). This report is primarily interested in their use across the European Union (for a comprehensive review, see Aebi and Linde, 2010, cited in Valente et al, 2019).

4 International Crime Victimization Survey

Initiated in 1988, The International Crime Victims Survey (ICVS), has developed into one of the largest projects in international criminology, covering 80 different countries. Its results are acknowledged as an important source of comparative information on levels of crime. In 2005 the European Commission (EC) co-sponsored the work of the ICVS in the 15 older member states of the European Union (van Dijk, Van Kesteren, and Manchin 2007). The results were combined with those of the fifth round of the ICVS, covering 31 nations altogether (van Dijk et al. 2007). In 2008–2009 the European Commission prepared for a full EU-wide victimisation survey to be administered by Eurostat. After a number of changes, Tilburg University and Lausanne University planned to undertake the work, although fieldwork was postponed (van Dijk et al. 2010).

The European Commission sponsored a round of national surveys in 2009 using a reduced version of the 2005 ICVS. These pilots were conducted in 2010 and were used to test new methods of data collection—including web-based interviewing. This work was supported by the International Government Research Directors, in Canada, Denmark, England & Wales, Germany, The Netherlands, and Sweden. Preliminary results were published by the Netherlands Institute for Urban Research and Practice (NICIS) (van Dijk, December 2012).

Independent of these six EU-sponsored surveys, ICVS-based surveys were also conducted in Azerbaijan (2011), Estonia (2009), Georgia (2010–2012), Moldova (2011), Switzerland (2010), and Tajikistan (2011). Findings from a new round of ICSV-based surveys are available from 12 nations. Results from 10 countries can be compared with results from one or more earlier surveys, allowing trend analyses (van Dijk, December 2012).

Participants in the ICVS are asked about their experiences of ten prevalent crimes over the past twelve months—crimes broadly defined as vehicle related, burglary, theft of personal property and contact crime (robbery, sexual offences and assault & threat, Lahosa, 2010). The ICVS surveys have traditionally been conducted by telephone, but more recently online methodologies have been piloted. The number of households surveyed is relatively small—only 2,000 in each country.

The data from victimisation surveys using a standard methodology can be used to draw comparisons between countries, in terms of crime victimisation levels and trends. The data has supported researchers in explaining the drop-in crime that occurred from the mid-1990s onwards across the industrialised world—a remarkable phenomenon considering the rise in people living in urban areas (UNFPA, 2014). Following analysis of the survey data, the authors of the International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS) linked the crime drop to improved security design. Reductions in burglary worldwide were attributed for instance to better security of residential dwellings vulnerable to crime

(van Dijk et al, 2007). In 2013, criminologist Graham Farrell published a paper testing the competing theories put forward to explain the drop in crime. The security hypothesis, based on opportunity theory, is the only one to stand up to close scrutiny (Farrell, 2013).

The results of victimisation surveys also help explain differences in crime levels across Europe, arising from a particular context and the resulting opportunities for crime. Typical factors that foster violence and anti-social behaviour are consumption of alcohol, while bike theft is prevalent in countries with high bike ownership. Through better design and security, countries like the UK and the Netherlands have successfully reduced burglary from the high levels experienced in the 1990s (van Dijk, 2012).

While the data generated from victimisation surveys is extremely valuable, problems attracting regular funding for the survey have delayed its administration and recent reports included survey findings from only twelve countries (van Dijk, 2012). This seems unfortunate and indeed surprising considering the value for policy makers—including those operating at a European level—of being able to measure victimisation trends over time and draw comparisons between national contexts.

While the International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS) was designed to obtain information about crime victimisation, it also includes questions about satisfaction with police services and feelings of insecurity. Measurement of satisfaction with police services appears to be a logical extension of a survey to identify respondents who have been victimised and may therefore have been in contact with the police.

Feelings of insecurity are measured with, so called, standard questions: How safe do you feel... in different contexts (e.g. your neighbourhood) and situations (e.g. after dark). The results are analysed to identify factors that contribute to respondents reporting feeling in security, including previous experience of victimisation, gender, age, socio-economic factors related to their place of residence, etc.

The impact on feelings of insecurity of avoidance or protective behaviours are also often measured. https://www.inegi.org.mx/contenidos/programas/envipe/2018/doc/cuest_principal_envipe2018.pdf. It is a quite source one with a sample of 90,000 interviewees.

The results of the survey are also used to compare feelings of insecurity with actual levels of crime victimisations—which have been declining since the mid-1960s. The resulting reports foster the belief that ‘fear of crime’ as it is often referred to, is a widespread phenomenon, and far outweighs the actual risk of crime victimisation. This ‘irrational’ fear of crime has come to be regarded as ‘a problem’ in its own right, and the focus has been on tackling this perceived ‘reassurance gap’ in some European countries, notably the United Kingdom (Crawford, 2007, Barker and Crawford, undated, CRIMPREV report 4). However, the significance and indeed existence of this ‘gap’ has been called into question by academics concerned about how survey data is driving security policies.

Issues have been raised regarding the internal validity of quantitative surveys and the design and phrasing of particular survey questions (as noted by Barker and Crawford, undated, CRIMPREV report

4). For example, surveys have been accused of invited a negative response. In this respect, the standard question is referred to: How safe do you feel walking alone in your neighbourhood after dark? The assumption being that the respondent will not feel completely safe. This question also refers to an imprecise geographical area i.e. the ‘neighbourhood’ and does not specify a time period. Indeed, it is not clear whether the question relates to a real situation or a hypothetical one.

According to academic researchers, it cannot be assumed that fear of crime can be measured through standardised, fixed choice questions. Furthermore, in seeking to objectively quantify the fear of crime, victimisation surveys suggest that such feelings are absolute and unchanging. However, research shows that people’s attitudes and beliefs are ‘extraordinarily unstable’ and may vary considerably within a short space of time. More crucially, it is questionable whether results gained from an artificial situation—i.e. a survey—can be used to gain insight into everyday life or experiences. We know from research that there is considerable discordance between what people say they believe or do when responding to surveys and what they actually believe or do in reality (see, for example, LaPiere’s (1934) study on ‘attitudes vs. actions’ cited in Barker and Crawford, undated CRIMPREV report 4).

Farrall and Ditton (1999, p. 58) argue that standard survey measures magnify people’s level of fear of crime because they tap into not only ‘fear’ but also a range of cognitive and affective states about crime.

The surveys have also explored factors that foster feelings of insecurity amongst certain groups—similarly, this raises a number of issues. The EU ICS measure of feelings of insecurity refers to “unsupervised youths” as a potential cause of insecurity. Davey and Wootton (2014) note that the word “youth” in this context conjures up a different image to that of “young people.” More worryingly, the phrase infers that “unsupervised” young people are by default a problem, suggesting an imperative to keep “youths” under constant observation. It is worth remembering that these are not infants that are being discussed, but young people between the ages of 12 and 18. Davey and Wootton (2014) suggest that such loaded terminology may promote anxiety in the minds of survey respondents and so bias responses.

Similar questions are included in national surveys of crime and anti-social behaviour. For example, in the Crime Survey of England and Wales (CSEW, 2012), interviewees are asked about “teenagers hanging around,” and this is cited as evidence of “perceptions of anti-social behaviour” (CSEW, 2012, p. 17). Davey & Wootton (2014) suggest, however, that simply “hanging around” should not be designated antisocial behaviour — unless it is accompanied by conflict or disturbance.

Manual on Victimisation Surveys

In 2005, the UNECE–UNODC Task Force on Victim Surveys collected information on victimisation surveys conducted or planned in the 56 ECE member countries and in selected

other countries. The information was used to create an inventory of victim surveys in the region, to be used as a tool to analyse differences and communalities in the methods and definitions adopted. The information contained from the inventory was also used extensively for the preparation of a manual on conducting victimisation surveys. This is available online.

Source: UNECE-UNODC (2009) United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, available from: https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/Crime-statistics/Manual_on_Victimization_surveys_2009_web.pdf

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5 European opinion survey – Eurobarometer

Since 1973, the European institutions have been regularly conducting public opinion surveys across all member states, using the Eurobarometer — the results of the Standard Eurobarometer are published twice yearly. Each survey consists of approximately 1000 face-to-face interviews per country (Eurobarometer website, accessed 26.03.19). The survey covers topics relevant to European institutions, such as the European political situation and the economy (perception of the current situation and expectations for the future). The Eurobarometer analyses also examines people's attitudes on European citizenship and on issues linked to the priorities of the European Commission, notably free movement and the euro (EU Open Data Portal, accessed 27.03.19). In this sense, the Eurobarometer is very much a tool designed for use by EU policymakers.

In 2007, the European Parliament launched its own specific Eurobarometer series. Surveys focus on citizens' perceptions and expectations towards EU action, and the main challenges the Union is facing. The results, published in regular and special reports, provide insight into trends and evolution of public opinion on European issues, both on a national and a socio-demographic level (Eurobarometer website, accessed 26.03.19).

Flash Eurobarometers are ad hoc thematic telephone interviews conducted at the request of any service of the European Commission. Flash surveys enable the Commission to obtain results relatively quickly and to focus on specific target groups, as and when required. The qualitative studies investigate in-depth the motivations, feelings and reactions of selected social groups towards a given subject or concept by listening to and analysing their way of expressing themselves in discussion groups or with non-directive interviews (European Commission website, accessed 27.03.19)

In some years, questions about crime victimisation and feelings of insecurity have been asked together with the Eurobarometer. In 2002, EU citizens were asked in about petty crime and fear of crime. Similar questions had been asked in previous years: Autumn 2000 (Eurobarometer 54.1); and Autumn 1996 (Eurobarometer 44.31).

The results of the Eurobarometer showed that feelings of insecurity had increased slowly but steadily across the EU as a whole between 1996 and 2002; the only member State to experience a consistent decrease in the feeling of insecurity over this period was Germany. This was despite levels of crime having declined significantly. Furthermore, feelings of insecurity were highest in Greece, the UK and Italy, and lowest in Denmark – even though Denmark has comparatively high levels of crime. Despite reporting lower levels of victimisation, women and the older people are the most likely to feel insecure. So, if not directly related to crime or victimisation, what causes feelings of insecurity? The Eurobarometer results suggested that level of contact with drug-related problems increased across

the EU from 1996 and 2002 and was linked with feelings of insecurity in countries such as Greece with comparatively low levels of crime (Eurobarometer, Autumn 2002).

In some editions of the Eurobarometer, citizens are questioned about the relevance of security to the EU. For example, in April 2017, respondents were asked to identify up to three main challenges currently faced by the EU and were invited to select from a list that included “terrorism and security”. The main challenge for the EU was identified as unemployment (39%), social inequalities (36%) and migration issues (34%). Just over three in ten (32%) mentioned terrorism and security issues, and at least one in ten respondents say instability in the regions bordering the EU (12%). The Special Eurobarometer survey on EU citizens' attitudes towards security brings together the results regarding security issues. The survey explores the issue of security by looking at a whole host of areas: overall perceptions of security and threats, perceptions of the actions taken by the police and other law enforcement authorities to combat those threats, and their attitudes toward national and international cooperation in dealing with the various security challenges faced by the Member States of the EU. In June 2017, a Special Eurobarometer survey was conducted of EU citizens' awareness, experiences and perceptions of cyber security issues.

6 Measuring victimisation & insecurity – Catalonia, Spain

In the early stages of the political transition to democracy in Spain, decision makers looked abroad for policies and practices going beyond simply repression—i.e. Controlling behaviour by force. In Catalonia in the late 1970s, local leaders, including the Mayor of Barcelona, Pasqual Maragall, were in contact with the emerging French municipal movement, which comprised city counsellors and academics. The French Commission’s “Bonnemaison Report” (1982) report helped to change approaches to crime, introducing Catalonia to a broader concept of security and highlighting the need for policies and practices that cut across different sectors to deal with underlying problems. The report was substantial, containing 64 proposals to tackle the many different causes for crime and delinquency; it illustrated that it is a fallacy to believe that repression and prison can solve all the problems. One of the elements included in the report pointed to the importance of considering perceptions of security.

Interestingly, it was the municipal level that promoted the idea of subjective security as a core element of security management. The national level in Spain has always been influenced by the police approach that keeps the focus on police statistics as a central indicator of public security. This is the reason why Spain has, so far, refused to carry out a victimisation survey. Consequently, surveys or barometers on security have been carried out only sporadically by the Centre of Sociological Investigations (in one case, in 1995, in collaboration with the Ministry of Interior) (Gondra, 2009).

The development of the various surveys in Catalonia and the city of Barcelona are described below.

6.1 Barcelona: victimisation and opinions survey

In 1984, the Barcelona Council decided to use a survey to assess the impact of victimisation and insecurity on life in the city. This was prompted by a crisis of confidence regarding public intervention models for addressing problems within the urban setting, including a widespread increase in the sense of insecurity and growing demand for security policies and public services. This was the first boom period for the private security sector (Lahosa, 2010, p. 21). Established in 1983, the Technical Committee for Urban Security was charged with preparing a programme of action that defined areas of activity and identified actions. There were ten working groups covering a broad range of topics including: children, young people, schools, drugs, foreigners, policing, administration of justice, the prison system, security in shops and the media, as well as an analysis group. The aim was “to uphold a constant line of analysis on crime in the city” (ibid, p.22).

The sources of information to be gathered included: (i) a survey of public security covering experience of victimisation and citizens' opinions on security, policing, justice and administration; (ii) information from the national police force and Guardia Urbana (iii) information from the justice administration; and (iv) information from the departments of youth affairs, health and social services of Barcelona City Council. A survey methodology was considered the best for gauging what had happened to citizens in Barcelona and its impact on the individual (Lahosa, 2010, p. 23). The survey would cover both 'objective' and 'subjective' aspects of the problem such as people's fears. It was anticipated that the new tool would give local authorities, responsible for urban security, information about what citizens perceived are issues and priorities. Initially, there were concerns however about ethical, social and legal issues, including: use of data; and data on the so called 'dark figure'—i.e. crimes not reported to the police—being made known to citizens and conflicting with other 'official' data sources. As the LEA notes, the National Police statistics were known to be of poor quality in terms of measuring crime and the police were reluctant to share crime data with the local authorities. The collection of victimisation data was therefore a relatively sensitive issue in Catalonia.

Launched in 1984, the first victimisation survey of Barcelona (SVB) was conducted annually in order that the knowledge could "define public policies"—and not just be an academic exercise (Lahosa, 2010, p. 24).

"The SVB was decided to be conducted on a yearly basis, a fact criticised as superfluous although we have always asked ourselves: how useful is it to obtain victimisation rates and opinions from citizens on a three- or five- yearly basis in order to manage security if we are dealing with a tool of knowledge that is needed to define public policies and not merely an academic exercise?"

Lahosa, 2010, p. 24.

The structure of the SVB, in terms of its sample and the analysis, is "urban in nature", argues Lahosa, 2010, p. 24). The sample was structured according to the population of each district, with samples exceeding 7,000, enabling knowledge to be derived for Barcelona as a whole and for individual districts. In addition, the individual is the primary source of information—as opposed to the household in the British Crime Survey (ibid, p. 25).

While the first survey sampled citizens in Barcelona (n=4,550), the survey was extended in 1990 to other metropolitan areas lying beyond the administrative boundary—the victimisation survey of Barcelona and Metropolitan areas (SVBMA). According to the LEA, during the 1990s, around 7,000 interviews were conducted in the city of Barcelona and around 5,500 in the remaining municipalities of the Area. As a result, the survey findings can be used to identify and understand differences between districts due to, for example, their specific social structure or different uses. According to Lahosa (2010, p. 25), the ability to differentiate between locations better represents how crime is geographically distributed—and indeed often concentrated. There is danger that research with extensive territorial scope suggests a homogeneity in terms of crime risk that does not correspond to reality.

There were also changes made to the way in which the survey was delivered. All respondents continued to be asked about crime victimisation. This is because victimisation is a “scarce variable”, and “analysing it requires large sample to attain statistically relevant data” (Lahosa, 2010, p. 26). The larger sample size is also important to understand the specific nature of the impact of victimisation at the level of the district. In relation to the questions of opinion, the sample of around 7,000 was broken down into three groups (Lahosa, 2010): (i) opinions on security (n=2,106); opinions on mobility (n=2,106); and (ii) opinions about public areas (approx. 3,000). This enabled for efficient management of public resources, without compromising the quality of the data.

All of the interviews were carried out by telephone. From 2000 onwards, the telephone interviews were conducted with the support of CATI (Gondra, 2010)—i.e. they were Computer Assisted Telephone Interviews.

Over time, the survey extended and amended Barcelona survey was supplemented by a survey of Catalonia (see summary of this process in the timeline below).

Table 2. Timeline: victimisation and security opinions survey in Catalonia, Spain

DATES	KEY EVENTS FOR VICTIMISATION SURVEYS – <i>delivered by the municipality</i>
1984–1989	In 1984, the first survey on survey of victimisation and opinions on security of Barcelona was carried out on behalf of the Barcelona Council, and continued annually thereafter. – <i>Survey of Victimisation and Opinions on Security in Barcelona (SVB).</i>
1990–2001	In 1990, the SVB survey was extended to encompass the greater Metropolitan Area of Barcelona (sample of around 7,000) – <i>The Victimisation Survey in Barcelona and Metropolitan Area (SVBMA)</i>
1999	In 1999, a survey for Catalonia of victimisation and security opinions was piloted. – <i>Enquesta de Seguretat Pública de Catalunya (ESPC)</i>
2002–2012	The ESPC and the SVB were merged and administered annually.
2013–to date	The ESPC and SVB were split. The SVB was administered annually and the ESPC every two years

6.2 Catalonia: victimisation and opinions survey

In 1999, there was a pilot project for the Crime Victimization Survey of Catalonia (Enquesta de Seguretat Pública de Catalunya (ESPC). In 2002, the ESPC and the SBVMA were formally merged to form one survey, which was conducted annually until 2013 (Gondra, 2010; Murrià, 2010). At this time, the sample size was about 14,000 and telephone interviews were conducted using the CATI System. This survey is considered to be a crucial tool within the Catalan System of Public Security (Bas, 2010).

In 2013, the two original surveys were split, with the Crime Victimization Survey of Catalonia (ESPC) starting to be biannual and to utilise a smaller sample. The Victimization Survey in Barcelona Metropolitan Area (SBVMA) continued to be administered annually and was again carried out by the Regional and Metropolitan Studies Institute—situated at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. In the last edition, conducted in 2017, the sample size comprised 7,835 interviews. Surveys in the city of Barcelona were carried out using in a mix of the online format (for respondents up to 64 years of age); and Computer Assisted Telephone Interviews (CATI) and personal interview. In the rest of the Metropolitan Areas, all interviews were carried out using CATI and potential respondents received a formal letter informing them that they would be called.

Interestingly, a study of security perception in the different neighbourhoods of Barcelona, using survey data and municipality records of demand on the police is also being introduced by the Regional and Metropolitan Studies Institute, in collaboration with the municipality of Barcelona.

6.3 Specific surveys conducted by the Department of Interior

In parallel, surveys focused on groups at risk of particular crimes have been conducted by the Department of Interior since 2000. The Department of Interior employs a company to conduct the field work for the surveys and the initial processing of the data.

The company is selected following a call for proposals in the Official Bulletin, and the best tender in terms of quality and price is chosen. The design of the survey, the monitoring of the field work and subsequent analysis of the data is carried out by the Department of the Interior. Currently, there are four dedicated members of staff working full-time on the surveys. Civil servants may cooperate in the delivery and analysis of the survey, as required.

Department of Interior

The Department of Interior is responsible for security within the territory of Catalonia and is involved in:

- The management of the Generalitat Police-Mossos d'Esquadra (comprising around 17,000 police officers), the coordination of local police services and the training of all police officers and fire brigade personnel in Catalonia
- The management of public order, demonstrations and festivals (using for instance video surveillance)
- Civil protection, emergencies and fire brigade (with the exception of the municipality of Barcelona)
- Traffic Supervision of private security.

The specific surveys have been used to measure security problems faced by school pupils (starting in 2000), women (starting in 2010) and more recently seniors, see timeline below.

Table 3. Timeline: Specific surveys conducted by the Department of Interior

DATES	SPECIFIC SURVEYS DELIVERED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
2000–2001 2005–2006 2011–2012 2015–2016	School Violence surveys (covering around 100 secondary Schools (pupils from 12 years old) – 4 editions
2010 2016	Violence against Women Survey delivered using CATI. In these surveys, 90% of respondents were female and 10% male. – 2 editions – 14,000 respondents (2010) – 11,000 respondents (2016)
2014–2015	Security of Seniors' Survey. Personal interviews with those living at home—i.e. not in care homes or residences for older people. – 1 edition – 2,000 respondents

The surveys are designed in consultation with relevant stakeholders, including organisations that work with older people and the Catalan Institute for women.

While surveys are being delivered using CATI, the online survey is being introduced very quickly and widely in the case of the schools; school pupils answer the online questionnaires from the classroom. Online surveys are being introduced more slowly in the case of older people. It is not uncommon for seniors to refuse to be interviewed online and for them to ask for a telephone call or a personal interview.

The Department of Interior has created an official Personal Database archive that conforms to the Data Protection legislation to store all information survey information. Although survey data is anonymised, some territories have small samples meaning that individuals could theoretically be identified. The establishment of an official archive containing “personal data” is designed to address data protection issues. Research organisations (e.g. The Institute for Regional and Metropolitan Studies) are contemplating similar moves.

6.4 Other surveys relevant to CCI

Other types of survey relevant to CCI are conducted. In 2018, a Neighbourhood’s Relationships and Conviviality Survey was introduced and will be conducted every two years by the Regional and Metropolitan Studies Institute. Although this might not be considered a ‘security’ survey in a traditional sense, it includes neighbours and neighbourhood conflicts and their impact on citizens’ feeling of security. It has a sample of 2,500 interviews in the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona. The interviews are carried out with support from CATI, with personal interviews used in relation to young people and immigrants, who can be difficult to contact via a telephone landline.

More recently, in the framework of the current political process in Catalonia, issues were raised regarding the traditional relationship between Catalonia and Spain. Some voices argued that conflict was affecting conviviality and security. The International Catalan Institute for Peace (ICIP) promoted a survey to explore some of the issues, called the “Percepció de la població catalana sobre la convivència i la seguretat” (“Perception of Catalan population about conviviality and security”)¹ survey that was carried out in 2018 (1,003 citizens were interviewed by CATI). The main results show that people assess with 7,2 (out of 10) the level of conviviality and with 6,7 the level of security. Further results show that the majority of interviewees were much more worried about organised crime, terrorism or cyber-attacks than the issues regarding sovereignty. Most of the interviewees also said that prevention and conflict resolution were the proper instruments to ensure security.

¹ Vid. http://icip.gencat.cat/web/.content/continguts/noticies/2018/7.Juliol/imatges_documents/Percepcio-de-la-poblacio-sobre-la-convivencia-i-la-seguretat-a-Catalunya.pdf

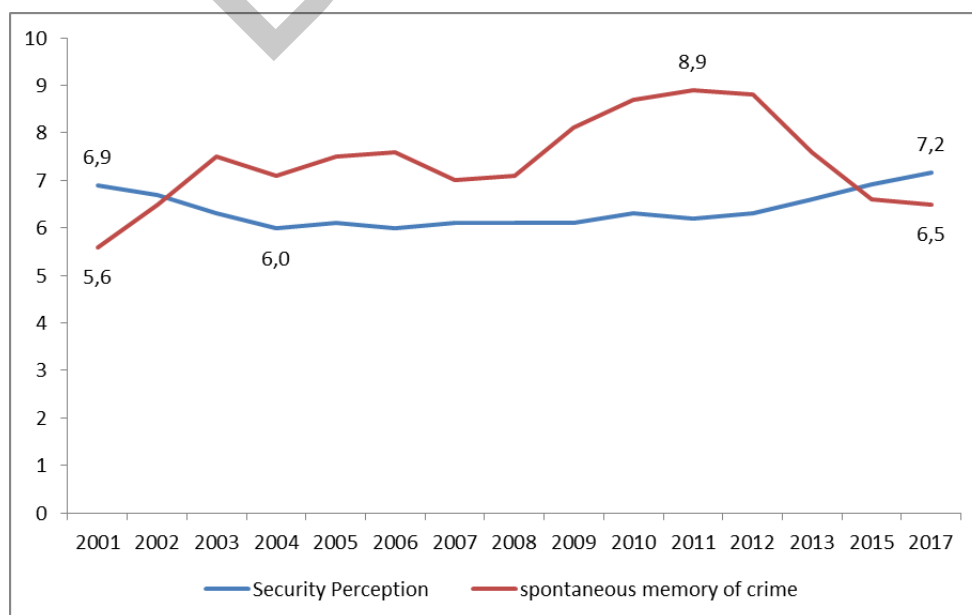
6.5 Survey questions informing policy in Catalonia

The approach adopted in Catalonia is largely based on the concept of fear of crime, raised by British Criminologists in the 1970s (Lee, 2007). In the UK in the 1980s, the main threat to security started to be seen as fear of crime how safe individuals felt in their environment, rather than crime itself. Understanding how safe citizens feel in their environment—no matter how high or low the actual level of crime—is therefore paramount (Guillén, 2012, 2018b).

The so called “spontaneous memory of victimisation” included within the Crime Victimization Survey of Catalonia is considered extremely meaningful for measuring feeling of insecurity—or subjective security as it is known in Catalonia. Respondents are first asked: “Do you remember having been victim of criminal offence such as theft, robbery, aggression... in the past twelve months?” The spontaneous memory of victimisation is the ratio of people who answer “yes” to the question, and how this compares to their actual level of victimisation (Gondra, 2010). After being asked specifically about security in relation to their houses, vehicles and on the street, respondents may declare to have been the victim of a crime, without having answered “yes”. This is because some respondents fail to recall incidents of victimisation, unless actually prompted by specific questions, suggesting that the incident was perhaps not particularly significant.

The spontaneous memory of victimisation is also compared to the level of security declared by the respondent. The level of security is measured using the question: “How safe do you feel in your municipality – on scale from 0 to 10”. The findings show that when the spontaneous memory of victimisation rises, the level of declared security diminishes (see graphic).

Figure 1. General Direction of Security Administration (Source: Department of Interior)



Researchers and practitioners conclude that crimes that really impact on the citizens' feeling of security are those that come to his/her mind when they are asked about victimisation in general (Gondra, 2010). Crime that impact less on the victim only come to mind when promoted to talk about a specific context—their home, vehicle or public space. The survey goes on to ask directly about the impact of victimisation in terms of: (i) psychological affectation; and (ii) Inconvenience caused by having to, for example, report the crime to the police, or obtain new personal identity documents, credit cards, house keys, etc. (Gondra, 2010).

The survey not only ask how safe the individual feels in the city where they live, but also, whether he or she thinks that the city is now safer (or less safe) compared to the previous year—and how it will evolve in the future, in their opinion. The optimistic or pessimistic perspective revealed by the respondent is considered relevant to decision-makers drafting public security policies.

The survey also contains a section devoted to opinions about police, different policing approaches and particular problems (from incivilities and public order to terrorism). Again, a future oriented question is asked in relation to the police: “How do you think that the Police Service has evolved?” “How do you think that it will evolve next?”

There are currently attempt underway to combine results from police statistics with those from crime victimisation surveys. This experimental process involves mapping data collected from the victimisation survey with that collected by the police. This requires a process of conversion to make both types of data comparable (Nadal, 2010). As Zauberman (2008, p.13) points out, “questions on victimisations should be phrased in a language that is likely to be understood, in approximately the same way by all respondents”. For example, survey respondents can clearly describe when they have been victim of a crime that has damaged their property—especially their house or vehicle, as well recall instances of violence. However, they may not understand the difference between ‘robbery’ and ‘theft in legal terms’.

6.6 Publication and use of the survey findings

Survey results are published on the Department of Interior website. The results and further information and analyses will next be made public in May / June 2019 and will be openly available. Hence, the attention being paid to ensure individual privacy through an audit of the results. When published, a press conference with the minister will be held, and information about general trends will be offered. The Parliament is also sometimes informed of the results. Sessions will also be held with senior police officers.

In Catalonia, the subjective aspect of security has become progressively more relevant to public policies at a local level. Local security managers are increasingly aware of the importance of understanding factors that make people safe or feel safe. Research suggests that understanding the subjective elements of safety is important for policy makers and practitioners looking to improve citizens' quality of life. As Ferretti, Pozza and Coluccia (2018) affirm:

“A number of studies have evidenced that the perception of unsafety has a significant impact on individual well-being in terms of limitations on daily activities and lifestyle”.

(p.2).

This implies that public authorities interested in improving citizens’ quality of life should be attentive to the levels of subjective security—or “security perception”. Citizens who feel unsafe reduce their activities, modify their behaviour and become more isolated—a downward spiral which only acts to reinforce their feeling of insecurity. Avoidance behaviours impact negatively on social and economic life.

The relevance of the survey findings to specific stakeholder groups depends on the actual questions being answered. For instance, the opinion of the public approaches to drugs or on the use of force (normally concerning public order policing) might inform police tactics and strategies.

Of particular significance to the police is data on the ‘dark figure’ of crime for particular victim groups or types of crime. Such information can be used by the police to modify their strategies to facilitate crime reporting. In the last edition of the survey (2017), the ratio of reported crime to crime was 29 per cent—meaning that 71 percent of victims did not report it to the Police. The reasons victims give for not reporting to the police may help guide police on areas to intervene to increase crime reporting (Guillén, 2013). When asked in 2016/17, why they had not reported to police, 62,9% of victims give as one of the reasons that the crime was not that important; 53,5% give as one of the reasons that it was complicated to report the crime; and 34,7% said that they don’t trust the Justice system and 22,7% don’t trust the police.

The use of the survey data by police appears to be relatively narrow, in that it informs general policing policies (such as level force, tolerance to drugs, management of vulnerable groups and facilitating of crime reporting), but not really daily operations. Some police managers are reluctant to operationalise the results of the victimisation and opinion surveys, which are considered a “junior partner of police statistics” (Zauberman, 2008, p. 35).

6.7 Future developments in Catalonia

The CCI LEA partner is aware of the benefits of surveys focusing on particular groups—compared to a more general survey. The results of the survey on Violence Against Women were highlighted as particularly valuable. The difficulties of measuring perception of security for particular groups within a general survey were further highlighted by the EU-funded project, MARGIN (Guillén, 2018b). Specific groups may require an instrument with different questions—and a mixture of quantitative and qualitative tools for collecting data.

The large amount of information provided through surveys should be properly processed in order to provide policy makers with more detailed information, relevant to them. This would require staff devoted to analysis and report writing, or agreements with universities to facilitate the extraction of

information from surveys. Such an arrangement might represent a ‘win-win’ for the Public Administration and the University, as students and researchers could be given access to raw data to process.

The methodology to combine police data and surveys’ data should be further developed in order to provide the LEA with a more complete picture. Data about police operations (who was deployed where) could also be combined with survey and police critical statistics. This might provide the LEA with information about issues such as crime displacement or perception of security depending on where police patrols are placed. Knowing police patrols objectives in a particular period can also be related to subjective security or the rise or fall of different types of crime.

Another step forward for the LEA might be in the use of users’ satisfaction surveys. Actually, police have only a moderate influence on crime tendencies, since a lot of factors that facilitate or impede crime are not under the control of the police. However, Police do have reasonable control over what their constables do. If users of the police service had the chance to express their opinion about how satisfied they are with the way in which police dealt with them, LEAs would be able to identify opportunities to improve in order to increase the citizens’ level of satisfaction with them — and potentially also increase their subjective security (since research has shown how police fairness with citizens improves their perception of security, Guillén 2018a).

In order to maximise the use of resources, merging the two largest surveys might be considered once again (the Crime Victimization Survey of Catalonia and the one within the Metropolitan Region of Barcelona). Merging the surveys is a question of ‘political will’ rather than presenting any real technical difficulties.

Over the longer term, the LEA needs tools that allow it to identify the perceptions of security in small areas—i.e. in micro areas. Consequently, the LEA is following very closely the PhD being carried out by David Buil Gil at the University of Manchester. He is researching algorithms in order to estimate the feelings of insecurity in areas with a low density of population (and insufficient sample). His areas of interest are the spatial analysis of crime and the spatial analysis of emotions and attitudes towards crime (Buil Gil, accessed 02.04.19). Such a tool might enable the LEA to draft concrete policies to address feelings of insecurity at a particular level.

7 Measuring victimisation & Insecurity in Germany

Police strategy in Germany has largely been guided by reported crimes, which are documented in the German Police Crime Statistics (PKS) since 1953 (Kolmey, 2016, p. 90). The Police Crime Statistics of Germany (PKS) are compiled from individual data sets produced by the 16 federal states ("Länder") Criminal Police Offices (LKÄ) and by the German-wide Federal Criminal Police Office (Bundeskriminalamt, BKA, in Wiesbaden and Berlin). German Police Crime Statistics (PKS) are kept according to fixed counting rules and uniform standards, and are considered an important basis for establishing priorities, policies and measures and planning the use of resources. However, the PKS records do not include crimes that are committed but not reported to the police.

If policing focuses exclusively on official crime data, it would not be possible to state whether crime rates actually fall or rise due to crime prevention, or whether changes result from changes in reporting behaviour. In order to address crime trends and their impact with appropriate measures, further information concerning these unreported crimes is essential (Kolmey, 2016, p. 90). Anonymised unreported crime surveys or victimisation surveys contribute valuable information to close the gap between official police statistics and citizens' experiences. Such survey can also be used to gain knowledge about how citizens are affected by crime and insecurity (Gluba, 2016).

Victimisation in Germany has been measured only sporadically in the context of regional criminological analyses. The studies in the city of Bochum involved repeat survey phases (1975, 1986 and 1998) (Schwind et al. 2001, cited in Gluba, 2016), but the large time interval between surveys limited their ability to inform policy and practice. The studies of victimisation and safety in other German cities and federal states have been mainly through one-off surveys (Gluba, 2016).

7.1 The federal State of Lower Saxony

There were efforts to develop a nationwide study involving all federal states in Germany within the research project "Barometer Security in Germany" funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF). However, it did not appear that this would be successful (Kolmey, 2016). Lower Saxony wanted to have a say in the conceptualisation of insecurity and to have access to data in the shorter term. It was therefore decided that Lower Saxony would conduct a representative population survey of its own (Kolmey, 2016, p. 91).

In 2012, the decision was made to systematically study crimes that do not necessarily come to the attention of law enforcement agencies (LEAs) but are revealed through crime victimisation surveys within Lower Saxony. The contract was assigned to the State Office of Criminal Investigation of Lower

Saxony (LKA), whose Research Centre for Criminology and Statistics was responsible for the content and organisation of the survey (Gluba, 2016). The LKA in Lower Saxony employs a multidisciplinary team of researchers, who are engaged in various research projects and activities that support policing and security in Germany, and in Lower Saxony in particular.

Crime victimisation surveys would help to reveal the 'dark figure' of unreported crime. In 2017, Uwe Kolmeyer, then President of the LKA in Lower Saxony stated:

"Despite this good basis [from the PKS], something has been lacking over the years: police have had no knowledge of crimes that are not reported to them. The elucidation of this so-called 'dark figure of crime' is the aim of the Survey on Safety and Crime in Lower Saxony."

Kolmeyer, 2017, p. 27.

The light shed on this crime through the study of victimisation is emphasised by the LKA in Lower Saxony, in their report titled: "Dunkelfeldstudie – Dritte Befragung zu Sicherheit und Kriminalität in Niedersachsen" (LKA Niedersachsen website, accessed 8.04.19).

Three waves of the Survey on Safety and Crime have been conducted in 2013, 2015 and 2017. The findings documented in an extensive report are downloadable from the internet -homepage of the State Office for Criminal Investigation (LKA NI website, 10.04.19). A representative sample of residents of Lower Saxony (aged 16 and over) are asked regularly about four aspects: (i) socio- demographic data, (ii) questions on various aspects of the fear of crime, (iii) a block of questions on experiences of being the victim of crime and (iv) on perceptions of the police and their work. To ensure some flexibility in terms of survey content, each phase of the survey includes a fifth aspect 'current phenomenon' (Gluba, 2016).

In conceptual terms, a distinction is made between the social and personal level with regard to feelings of insecurity. The former expresses how concerned a person is about the general crime situation or their assessment of crime in the context of other risks. These types of questions are included in some of the Eurobarometer surveys. However, this type of feeling of insecurity was not surveyed in Lower Saxony. In Lower Saxony, the focus was on the personal level—that is, how high the threat of crime is perceived as being for the individual (Gluba, 2016).

The survey seeks to capture three aspects related to individual feelings of insecurity. The affective component is concerned with feelings and describes the emotional fear of being affected by crime. On the cognitive level, where information is processed, those fears are replaced by rational assessment, i.e. what is the likelihood of becoming the victim of a crime? The conative component refers to the behavioural level: What measures do people take to protect themselves against crime? What coping strategies do they use? (cf. Boers 1991). Conative refers to "a wish, intention, or effort to do something" and psychologists typically differentiate between cognitive and conative aspects of behaviour (Cambridge online Dictionary, accessed 10.04.19). In addition to those three "classic" forms

of feelings of insecurity, the survey on safety and crime in Lower Saxony also contains a number of items concerning space oriented insecurity specifically measuring the quality of the living environment and neighbourhood cohesion in order to gain information to which extent spatial and environmental factors contribute to feelings of insecurity.

The first key findings of the study were presented to the public in November 2013 by the Interior Minister of Lower Saxony, Boris Pistorius. The findings have since been analysed in greater detail and presented in numerous events. Like in other countries, the LKA in Lower Saxony was initially concerned about the political risk of revealing data that differed from the official German Police Statistics. However, the media response has been highly positive, with the project consistently being presented as use-ful and beneficial (Gluba, 2016). Since then, the LKA conducted the survey biannually in 2015 and 2017. The next survey phase in 2020 will be part of a nationwide survey called SKiD (Security and Crime in Germany) organised by the BKA.

A public report of the first survey 2013 gave an overview of victimisation and feelings of insecurity. On the affective level, 12.5 per cent of those surveyed reported fairly often or often worrying about becoming the victim of a crime. When asked about the actual likelihood of becoming the victim of crime (cognitive), the values were considerably lower; only 7.7 per cent reported a high or fairly high likelihood of becoming the victim of one of the crimes concerned in the coming twelve months. Women report a greater fear of crime than men, primarily due to fear of sexual offences. The majority of respondents (86.4 percent), measured across all individual survey items, have a high or fairly high feeling of safety with respect to their own home and the neighbourhood. However, this is dependent on the time of day and the location of the person. The survey participants felt most unsafe when encounter-ing a stranger in the street at night (Gluba, 2016).

When asked about measures taken for the purpose of protection and to avoid becoming a victim of crime (conative fear), highly rational answers were given, including: taking care to make their home looks inhabited; carrying as little cash on themselves as possible. From both a personal and societal perspective, less desirable measures include avoiding public transport or certain areas out of fear. Women take significantly more preventive/ protective measures than men, and older people generally take more such measures than younger people (Gluba, 2016). The 2012 survey found that 30 percent of the respondents said that they had been the victim of crime. However, the Lower Saxony survey also includes cybercrime. The reporting rates depend heavily on the type of crime. Only 4 percent of sexual offences are reported to the police. Vehicle thefts, however, are almost always reported so that the loss can be indemnified by the insurance company (92 percent) (2016). Doubts about the success of police investigations played the greatest role in the non-reporting of crimes (Gluba, 2016).

The main findings of the latest survey concerning feelings of insecurity are summarised as follows: With regard to life in Lower Saxony in general, i.e. the housing situation and the characteristics of the neighbourhood (duration, neighbourhood quality and neighbourhood intensity), only slight changes have been observed since the first survey in 2013. For the year 2017, there are indications of a slight increase in the mobility of citizens. The proportion of people living in their neighbourhood for 10 years

or more fell marginally but significantly in 2017 compared with previous years, with a simultaneous increase in the proportion of people living in their neighbourhood for less than 10 years. Overall, respondents continue to be highly satisfied with the level of tidiness and cleanliness of their living environment, and to a lesser extent with the spatial and architectural quality (surveyed for the first time in 2015). In this context, the citizens of Lower Saxony assess the structural and spatial design of their neighbourhood in 2017 significantly more positively than in 2015 (Landeskriminalamt Niedersachsen, 2017, p. 85). As in the previous two years, the majority of respondents also rate the social aspects of their living environment (neighbourhood intensity) as good, with hardly any changes to the previous surveys.

The spatial insecurity, i.e. the subjective feeling of security in relation to the living place and the immediate environment, is described by a large majority of respondents as high in 2017 and has been stable since 2013. At the same time, however, the approval of the categories "low" and "rather low" increased significantly from 2015 to 2017 (from 9.1% to 12.3%). In 2017, people in Lower Saxony therefore feel somewhat more insecure about their immediate environment than they would in 2015. Fears and insecurities continue to be felt especially at night, alone and when respondents additionally encounter a stranger. As in previous years, younger women in particular stand out for their high levels of insecurity, which have increased significantly again from 2015 to 2017. The general feeling of insecurity (affective fear of crime) and the personal risk assessment (cognitive fear of crime) increased significantly in 2017. Within the current survey (2017), 12.9 percent of respondents expressed a (rather) high fear of becoming the victim of a crime. The increase from 2015 to 2017 in affective fear of crime can be observed for all individual aspects of the measurement, but most strongly in relation to burglary and the fear that something will be stolen from people in general. Additionally, the individual risk assessment of becoming the victim of a crime has also risen significantly since 2015 in every measured offence. Especially with regard to the fear of becoming a victim through sexual offences, a high level of fear can be demonstrated among women in both affective and cognitive fear. Furthermore, victims showed in general a higher level of fear of crime as well as high rate of spatial insecurity.

In comparison with previous years, the conative dimension shows a slight but significant increase in protective behaviour with knives or irritant gas from 2013 to 2015 and 2015 to 2017. 5.8 percent of the respondents carry weapons to protect themselves. A significant increase throughout the three surveys of protection measures concerning home security could also be identified. In terms of avoidance behaviour respondents showed a stable level with a slight reduction till 2017 (Landeskriminalamt Niedersachsen, 2017, p. 86). Also, in 2017, variations in victimisation according to crime type, sex and age can be observed. Serious offences such as robbery, assault or sexual offences are relatively rarely reported. Offences affecting property (theft or damage to property), fraud, threats or computer-related crime are much more prevalent.

In addition, men report victimisation more frequently than women do across almost all crime categories. Exceptions are all forms of sexual offences and threats or violence caused by the (ex-) partner. Here the prevalence rates are higher among women. The reported victimisations generally

decrease with increasing age, only in the case of experienced individual theft offences (domestic burglary, theft of motor vehicles, theft of personal belongings) do prevalence rates of older and younger people reach a similar level. However, it cannot be entirely excluded that older people are more vulnerable to other crimes that are not part of the survey, such as violence by nursing staff in the case of persons in need of care (Landeskriminalamt Niedersachsen, 2017, p. 86).

The unreported crime surveys always contain one additional offence each survey period (ibid., 2017, p. 87). In 2017 respondents affective and cognitive fear on hate crime was measured. The prevalence rate for the experience of such an offence is relatively low at 0.5% for the total population in Lower Saxony. In terms of scale, this type of offence is comparable to robbery and assault (minor assault with weapon, heavy or by (ex-) partner). Gender and age effect is similar to that of other offences. Men are more likely to be affected and especially the youngest age groups (16 - 34 years) show an increased risk. Additionally, to the increased cognitive and affective fears of people with a migration background concerning hate crime, they have a higher risk of becoming victims of a prejudice-motivated offence than people without a migration background. This type of victimisation was also surveyed in a more detailed form, based on international research, in this 2017's supplementary module of the survey, the evaluation of which will appear in a special report (Landeskriminalamt, 2017, p. 87).

The results of the survey were soon included in periodic police publications and they started to play an important role for future strategies. The new data was used to back up or challenge previous interpretations based on the PKS data. For example, the victimisation survey showed that there are more attempted burglaries than suggested by the PKA data. Information about unsuccessful burglaries is important for prevention.

In terms of feelings of insecurity, there were notable levels of fear about using public transport in rural areas—not just in cities. In addition, fear of crime of younger people was found to be at least as high as the fear elderly people report. The information about insecurity amongst younger people resulted in greater efforts by the LKA and its partners to concentrate on this newly identified group (Kolmeyer, 2017).

Further findings concerning spatial and structural caused feelings of insecurity suggested the need for further research in order to gain in-depth knowledge on the micro-level² in how to address these specific types of spatial factors with adequate measures in urban planning and provide stakeholders (municipalities, city planners etc.) with internal expertise and structural solutions. Results from the TRANSIT-Project indicate that a high level of objective and subjective security increases the quality of life. Different factors and their interaction determine the extent and development of feelings of security and fear. Global environmental factors at the macro level (media, social change and welfare state), individual influences at the micro level such as age, gender, social origin and vulnerability and factors of the local environment at the meso level (neighbourhood, social cohesion, actual crime and

² See: <https://www.transit-online.info/home.html>

incivilities) (Oberwittler, 2015) including structural design are crucial. The interaction of these different factors can be influenced at different levels by applying police expertise on crime prevention to these levels.

Designing public space on the one hand and the creating well-functioning social neighbourhoods on the other can strengthen the feelings of security of the population. Place can be designed with the aim of preventing crime opportunities and strengthening social cohesion and thus improving the quality of life (Behrmann & Schröder, 2011) because security is created when fear of personal threats is absent and there is trust that body and property will remain unharmed.

7.2 The Security Audit

Under the leadership of European Forum for Urban Security (Efus), partner organisations across Europe have worked together to identify methods and tools for a strategic approach to urban security analyses. Between 2013 and 2016, partners participated in "Methodological tools for the definition of local security policies in Europe" (AUDITS). Co-financed by the European Commission, AUDITS brought together the European, French, German and Italian Forums for Urban Security, and involved a number of CCI partners, including INT (ES) and DPT (DE) (Husain, 2016 – published by Efus).

The resulting book published at the end of a project is an instrument to disseminate and mainstream a strategic approach to urban security and to strengthen the capacity of local and regional European authorities to implement it (Husain, 2016 – published by Efus). This guide builds on and complements the Efus 2007 publication *Guidance on Local Safety Audits: A Compendium of International Practice*.

The idea of a safety audit is to bring together information on several subjects. It needs to include contextual data about the city and its population; information about crime and related activity; the impacts and costs of crime; factors linked to offending and victimisation; assets, services and initiatives that could reduce the occurrence of problems, and the views of local citizens. As a starting point, those responsible for the audit should draw up a list of topics which they want to investigate. They can then explore what information is readily available and what might need to be collected. An audit will ideally draw together both quantitative and qualitative information (Husain, 2016 – published by Efus).

The AUDITS project identified a number of interesting methods for measuring insecurity, including the Security Index in Rotterdam. The City of Rotterdam, comprising 14 districts and 71 neighbourhoods, has developed a tool that combines official police records with survey data. It monitors three elements: (i) Safety Index; (ii) Social Index; and (iii) Physical Index. In order to identify which neighbourhoods need increased level of safety, it is necessary to use a monitor—conducted twice per year. The municipality of Rotterdam works with its partners, residents and businesses to maintain a general level of safety and increase it where necessary (Husain, 2016 – published by Efus).

At the national level, safety is measured by a large-scale survey distributed by each police region and city. The results can be benchmarked against other cities. To monitor safety at the local level, the municipality of Rotterdam uses a large-scale safety survey distributed to residents (15,000 respondents online and by phone). The results are processed into the Safety Index. Used as a separate tool for many years, the Safety Index became part of the newly developed integral tool, Wijkprofiel (neighbourhood profile), in 2014 (Efus, 2016).

Between 2002 and 2014, the municipality of Rotterdam monitored its neighbourhoods and overall safety situation using the Safety Index. The single figure gave a snapshot, or barometer, of the security situation. The Safety Index included data from police records, reported neighbourhood concerns and victimisation, as well as neighbourhood characteristics such as property value and the number of people moving home. The Safety Index could also be used to compare neighbourhoods over time (Efus, 2016).

The scores were able to both identify the neighbourhoods with problems and pinpoint the biggest issue(s) posed in these areas. Each score was also assigned a colour based on the traffic light model (from dark green to dark red). A combination of figures and colours clearly showed which neighbourhoods were considered safe (dark green) or unsafe (dark red). However, it can be considered stigmatising, which it is to some extent. The dark red certainly contributed to an area's poor reputation. On the positive side, however, the lowest scoring neighbourhoods benefited from additional attention and financial resources. As the traffic light model could be perceived as stigmatising, it was decided to use a more 'moderate' version in the neighbourhood profile. The colours used now range from dark yellow to dark green, which maintains the flagging effect but reduces the stigmatisation aspect. Additionally, the neighbourhood profile will not use a scoring system between 1 and 10, but rather give a score below or above the Rotterdam average (average = 100). A score between 1 and 10 was often wrongly interpreted, resulting in the mislabelling of neighbourhoods as safe or inadequate. The new index score system in the neighbourhood profile decreases the chance of this happening (Efus, 2016).

The neighbourhood profile is composed of three aspects: Social, Physical and Safety. Each aspect encompasses different themes consisting of objective and subjective counterparts. For example, (i) social aspect: Capabilities, Living environment, Participation and Connection and (ii) Physical aspect: Property, Public space, Facilities and Environment; and (iii) Safety aspect: Theft, Violence, Burglary, Vandalism and Nuisance (Efus, 2016).

Each theme also includes a general concept, which for example in the Safety aspect of the profile is named 'perceived safety'. The Objective Index consists of all the objective aspects of each theme, and the Subjective Index is comprised of all the subjective aspects of each theme. This is a major difference compared with the previous version of the Safety Index, which differentiated between objective and subjective scores only at an indicator level. This meant there was less insight into changes in the subjective perception and discrepancies between objective and subjective safety. The

new neighbourhood profile clearly defines the distinction between objective and subjective (Efus, 2016).

DRAFT

8 Lessons Learned

8.1 Refining fear of crime questionnaires

Serious concerns have been raised about attempts to measure so-called “fear of crime” made by national victimisation surveys, such as the Crime Survey of England and Wales (CSEW). Farrell, Gray, and Jackson (2007) and Farrell, Jackson, and Gray (2006) suggest that standard methods employed in measuring feelings of insecurity may in actuality be constructing fear of crime as a significant social problem for a large proportion of the population. They suggest fear of crime may be an artefact of poor survey techniques, rather than a real quality-of-life issue accurately revealed by such research.

The authors highlight concerns with some of the “industry-standard” questions that these surveys employ (Farrell *et al*, 2007, p.19). One typical question asks about feelings of safety when walking:

*“How safe do you feel walking alone in the area where you live?
(very safe; fairly safe; a bit unsafe; or very unsafe)”*

Another enquires of respondents' worry about victimisation, which is worded as follows:

“Most of us worry at some time or other about being a victim of crime. Using one of the phrases on this card, could you tell me how worried you are about the following?”

The following crimes were then asked of in turn: “Having your home broken into and something stolen?”; “Being mugged and robbed?”; “Having your car stolen?”; “Having things from your car stolen?”; “Being raped?”; “Being physically attacked by strangers?”; “Being insulted or pestered by anybody, while in the street or any other public place?”; and finally, “Being subject to a physical attack because of your skin colour, ethnic origin or religion?” The answer options offered to respondents were “very worried; fairly worried; not very worried; or not at all worried” (Farrell *et al*, 2007). As the first statement shows, before the survey question is even asked, respondents are invited to admit to being worried. Furthermore, the survey positions the state of worry as a social norm. Such survey questions could at the very least be considered leading, and thus the value of responses gathered dubious.

Interesting research by Farrell *et al* (2007) into methods of measuring so-called fear of crime suggests that the commonly used question “Are you worried about crime?” does not really measure “fear of crime,” as we might commonly understand the term. Rather, the question taps into a range of different feelings and views about crime held by the respondent. Qualitative interviews show that a respondent may answer in the affirmative to the question about “worry” for a variety of reasons. These include because the respondent:

- Has personally experienced fears or anxieties generated by actual experiences of crime;
- Feels angry about having been a victim or the prospect of becoming a victim;

- Considers the prospect of being a victim frightening;
- Believes that crime is an important social issue that should be addressed; or
- Currently takes steps to improve his or her own personal security.

Farrell *et al* (2006) propose that “fear of crime,” as a lived experience refers to a range of emotional reactions and cognitive processes. Impacting on quality of life, are likely to be real moments of fear of victimisation, arising prior to or post-victimisation or due to threat of victimisation. The puncturing of mundane thoughts about security by sudden shock events that alert one to the possibility of crime victimisation may impact negatively on quality of life. For example, hearing about family or friends that have been victimised or finding out that a location one frequents is a crime hotspot may generate genuine worry. The aforementioned examples are qualitatively different from nagging doubts about the security of one’s home and property when left unattended or the awareness of crime as a possibility and the need for added precautions. Different again is the abstract set of feelings and attitudes about crime as a social problem or issue for society. The authors suggest that the impact on quality of life depends on the intensity and type of feeling and on its frequency.

8.2 Theoretical approaches to measurement

There are a number of theoretical constructs informing approaches to measuring feelings of insecurity. These move beyond 'fear' as solely an emotional component, and instead attempt to reformulate fear as a multidimensional construct. The argument is that in surveys this complexity cannot be represented by only a single item.

In Germany, criminologist Klaus Boers has most influenced the German fear of crime research. Boers has provided a theoretical basis for measuring fear of crime on three different dimensions (cf. Boers 1991), as described in section 7.1, above.

- **Affective dimension** – This describes the individual concern or the actual fear of becoming a victim. This component is causal for the designation of the phenomenon as 'fear of crime' and includes all emotional reactions to crime.
- **Cognitive dimension** – This describes the estimated risk of becoming a victim of crime in general or in terms of certain offences. It is assumed that the individual expectation of becoming a victim also depends on how reality is perceived and the normative conception a person has of crime. A person's individual reality depends on their own experience of crime, which can be both direct and indirect. In the latter case, the experiences are indirectly mediated by norms and values, personal lifestyle and one's own social situation (Ziegleder *et al*, 2011: 29). Therefore, the estimated risk can be affected by various factors, such as the direct environment, perception of crime rates, etc.

- *Conative dimension* – This describes the behaviours of an individual undertaken in order to reduce potential victimisation. Prevention measures such as taking self-defence classes or avoiding certain localities at certain times, depend on the individual coping ability.

Although these three dimensions of fear of crime accentuate different aspects of fear, they are interrelated. Numerous empirical studies have now been conducted to identify these aspects, but the specific relationship between the three dimensions has not been clarified or causally understood in every direction (cf. LKA NI 2015: 82). For example, it is not yet understood whether avoidance and protective behaviours are the result of cognitive, affective or conative fear (Boers & Kurz; 1997: 188; Dittmann, 2005: 2; BMI/BMJ, 2006: 517). Thus, while of academic interest, the practical value of such a model is questionable.

According to Boers (1991), the affective dimension of fear of crime is also determined by two cognitive estimation processes: (i) the estimation of a situation as dangerous or risky; and (ii) the estimation of personal resources and abilities to cope with this situation. It is suggested, therefore, that several dimensions of fear of crime should be measured using a range of different indicators that address situational feelings of security and personal coping skills and strategies. This approach has been adopted by the LKA in their survey of safety and crime in Lower Saxony. In addition to those three “classic” forms of feelings of insecurity, the survey on safety and crime in Lower Saxony also contains a number of items concerning space-oriented insecurity specifically measuring the quality of the living environment and neighbourhood cohesion in order to gain information to which extent spatial and environmental factors contribute to feelings of insecurity.

Findings concerning spatial and structural causes of feelings of insecurity highlighted the need for further research in order to gain better understanding of how to address these specific types of spatial factors with adequate measures in urban design, and how to provide stakeholders (municipalities, city planners, etc.) with internal expertise and structural solutions. Results from the LKA TRANSIT-Project in Lower Saxony³ indicated that a high level of objective and subjective security increases citizen quality of life. Different factors and their interaction determine the extent and development of citizens' feelings of security and fear. As already mentioned, at the beginning of measuring feelings of insecurity, the fear of becoming a victim was assumed to be strongly related to experiences of victimisation experienced by an individual. Recent studies show that victimisation experiences are only one influence on fear of crime. Global environmental factors at the macro level (media stories; social change; and the welfare state), individual factors at the micro level (age, gender, social origin and vulnerability), and local environment factors at the meso level (neighbourhood quality; social cohesion; crime levels; and incivilities) (Oberwittler, 2015) significantly affect citizen's fear of crime and their feelings of insecurity. This different factors are related to main criminological and sociological approaches of the emergence (and mode of action) of fear of crime (e.g. Social

³ See: <https://www.transit-online.info/home.html>

Disintegration Approach (Taylor *et al*, 1984; Baumer, 1985; Häfele, 2013; Oberwittler, 2008), Collective Efficacy Approach (Samspon *et al*, 1997), Disorder Approach (Garofalo & Laub, 1978; Lewis & Salem 1986; LaGrange *et al*. 1992), Victimisation and Approach (Hirtenlehner, 2009), Media Reporting and Consumption (Reuband, 2008), Social Control Perspective – „Broken Windows“ (Wilson & Kelling 1982), Generalized Model (Hirtenlehner & Sessar, 2017)). The interaction of these different factors can be influenced at different levels by applying expertise on crime prevention (e.g. from the police) to these levels. Designing public space on the one hand and creating well-functioning social neighbourhoods on the other can strengthen citizen’s feelings of security. Places can be designed with the aim of preventing crime opportunities and strengthening social cohesion and thus improving the quality of life (Behrmann & Schröder, 2011). Security is created when fear of personal threats is absent and there is trust that body and property will remain unharmed.

The theoretical aspects that impact on the measurement and mitigation of feelings of insecurity will be explored further in deliverable D4.5.

8.3 CCI approach to measuring 'feelings of insecurity'

In light of the lack a humanist-realist, conceptual formulation of 'feelings of insecurity' that can be easily applied to practical situations, USAL developed the CCI Feelings of Unsafety Model. This aims to better operationalise the many different aspects of worry, anxiety, fear, and feelings of insecurity that relate to crime and human perceptions of risk.

Humanist-realism

This is a movement in sociology that recognises the concept of human nature as being essential for sociology. A main proponent of the need for this approach is academic Terry Leahy

"If there is a crisis in the social sciences, it is squarely tied to this. As a critical discipline we cannot agree about where our criticism leads. What is worse, we do not even like to talk about this at our conferences, where it is much more pleasant to engage in critique and get on together as fellow members of the broad Left — without attacking each other's models of Utopia."

Source: Leahy (2016) p. x.

The CCI Feelings of Unsafety Model reserves the term 'fear of crime' for the situation immediately before victimisation, when an individual is aware of an immediate threat of victimisation. The model seeks to position feelings of insecurity in relation to actual victimisation, and other perceptions of anxiety or risk that may be experienced before this point. It is not assumed that all individuals will experience crime—or even an immediate threat of victimisation. Indeed, feelings of insecurity often

arise without any actual victimisation or threat — based purely on an individual's perceptions of a situation. Clearly such individual perceptions will vary with demographics factors (young-old; male-female) but may also be affected by the experiences of familial and social groups — and shared stories about these.

Adapted from a model developed by Davey & Wootton (2014), the human-centred CCI Feelings of Unsafety Model conceptualises the experience of insecurity from the perspective of the individual's experience: thoughts about a situation in anticipation; experience in a particular situation; experience during and after a threat or victimisation; and longer-term impact. The Model identifies (a) factors that may foster and/or mitigate feelings of insecurity; and (b) factors affecting the perceptions of different groups, including young people / older people, women, men and ethnic minorities — see D7.2 Report on Feelings of insecurity – Concepts and models.

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9 Conclusion

The idea behind the ongoing National Crime Victims Survey (NCVS) in the US is to estimate the numbers of acts falling under the official definitions of crime incorporated in the Uniform Crime Reports. Topics such as fear of crime, preventive responses, reasons for reporting or not reporting to the police and opinions about the police are sometimes included in supplements to the questionnaire but have remained of marginal importance (van Dijk and de Castelbajac, 2017).

The European national victimisation surveys have adopted a broader, less legal approach. Survey questions are formulated in concrete, colloquial language and the opportunity is taken to include questions on attitudes and opinions (van Dijk and de Castelbajac, 2017). The first German national survey of 1988 was part of the first round of the International Crime Victimization Survey. This international survey was repeated in Germany in 2005 and 2010 with funding from the European Commission. The independently run German survey of 2012 was part of a larger research project on security issues (Security Monitor Germany). The project contains extensive modules on fear of crime in addition to one on victimisation (van Dijk and de Castelbajac, 2017). Spain was also part of the first round of the ICVS in 1988 and the internal survey repeated in 2005 and 2010.

The EU Action Plan 2006–2010 envisaged the development of comparative crime statistics among the Member States, including a common module for victimisation surveys. Technical groundwork for such a survey was undertaken by an expert group from Eurostat, the statistical arm of the European Commission (Van Dijk et al. 2010). Following the European tradition, the planned survey ‘European Safety Survey’ included a set of questions on feelings of safety, satisfaction with treatment by the police, general attitudes towards the police and the reception of victim support (van Dijk and de Castelbajac, 2017). However, in 2012 the European Parliament advised against the survey (Van Dijk 2012; A7-0365/2012 – European Parliament). The main arguments raised against the European Safety Survey were threefold: cost; it would duplicate existing national surveys; and it included ‘subjective’ and ‘sensitive’ questions.

The British Crime survey was introduced in 1982, later becoming the Crime Survey for England and Wales. Since 2001, the CSEW has been administered every year and it is currently managed by the Office for National Statistics (ONS). The CSEW has an average sample of 35,000 respondents aged 16 and over—around 50,000 households are invited to participate in the survey. Since 2009, a section of the CSEW includes around 3,000 children (10 to 15 years of age).

In the CSEW, respondents are asked questions about their experience of victimisation over the last 12 months—crime related to the household, vehicles and the person are covered. Questions explore details of the incident (including time, place, cost, consequences, offender, modus operandi, report to the authorities, issues). With reference to the perception of insecurity, the CSEW survey covers a large range of indicators: personal feeling of safety or unsafety; assessment of criminality and its evolution

over time; personal feeling of security in the neighbourhood; perception of neighbourhood social problems; perceived impact of crime on quality of life; perceived victimisation risk; protective and avoiding behaviours; assessment of police action in general.

Recent studies have also attempted to measure factors linked to anti-social behaviour, but this is extremely problematic. For example, in the CSEW (2012), interviewees are asked about “teenagers hanging around,” and this is cited as evidence of “perceptions of anti-social behaviour” (CSEW, 2012, p. 17). Davey & Wootton (2014) suggest, however, that simply “hanging around” does not constitute antisocial behaviour, not unless it is accompanied by conflict or disturbance.

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11 Appendices

Survey question examples

Question REC1 [To everyone] [RECORD]

Do you remember having been a victim of criminal offence such as theft, robbery, aggression... in the past twelve months?

1. YES

0. NO – GO TO CATEGORY 1.2 (VEHICLE)

Question V4 [If he/she owned a car last year] [XX11, XX12]

We would like to ask you now some questions on safety of vehicles.

Did anyone in the last 12 months steal or attempted to steal any of your vehicles? (car, motorcycle, bicycle, van, etc.)

ASK FOR EACH OF THE CASES

A - Vehicle theft:

How many times in the last 12 months? ___

98. 98 or more or continually

99. NR/DK number of times

B- Vehicle theft attempt:

How many times in the last 12 months? ___

98. 98 or more or continually

99. NR/DK number of times

977. NON-APPLICABLE

Question MV4 [If he/she has experienced one or more offences against the vehicle] [MOLES]

Rate from 0 (it did not bother me at all) to 10 (it bothered me a lot) the level of inconveniences that this offence caused.

99. NR/DK

Question MV22 [I If he/she has experienced one or more offences against the vehicle. If he/she reported them to the Mossos d'Esquadra in Catalonia] [SATIS]

Do you feel satisfied with the service the Mossos d'Esquadra provided you?

Please rate it globally on a scale from 0 (very dissatisfied) to 10 (very satisfied).

99. NR/DK

977. NON-APPLICABLE

Question H2 [TO EVERYONE] [YY11, YY12]

Did anyone commit or try to commit burglary in your main residence in the last 12 months?

CONFIRM THOSE HIGHER THAN 3

A- Burglary:

How many times in the last 12 months?

98. 98 or more offences or more often

99. NR/DK number of times

B- Burglary attempt:

How many times in the last 12 months?

98. 98 or more offences or more often

99. NR/DK number of times

Task 2.6: Review of state of the art in measuring and mitigating citizens' feelings of insecurity

EFUS will lead a consortium review of current LEA practice and 'what works' in measuring and addressing citizens' feelings of insecurity across Europe. This study will also examine how changes in policing and priorities in the last decade have impacted the delivery and effectiveness of measuring citizens' feelings of insecurity across Europe. This task is divided into four activities, as follows:

2.6.1 Review academic and LEA operational literature on measuring and addressing citizens' feelings of insecurity

This will review academic literature resulting from national and EU-funded research projects that addresses the issue of measuring and addressing feelings of insecurity. This will include work undertaken by Eurobarometer, the EU-funded project INSEC and the International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS).

2.6.2 Identify and conduct interviews with 'leaders in the field' of measuring and addressing citizens' feelings of insecurity

Five semi-structured telephone interviews will be conducted with identified LEA 'leaders in the field', who will be identified by the consortium and Advisory Board. Where appropriate, researchers will make site visits to meet practitioners and learn more about the technologies, procedures and systems in use.

A semi-structured interview format will be developed covering: (i) Background to use of insecurity data; (ii) Method(s) used to collect data on citizens' feelings of insecurity; (iii) Model(s) of insecurity adopted; (iv) Role and weighting of data in decision-making process; (v) Perceived practical utility of resulting data; (vi) Role of technology in enabling measurement; and (vii) Ethical issues related to data collection and use. Findings will be written up in a report illustrated with practical examples.

2.6.3 Workshop: State of the art in measuring and mitigating citizens' feelings of insecurity in Europe (Month 5)

A workshop with LEA consortium partners (part of Consortium Meeting 2, M5) will: (i) discuss results and issues raised by the research; and (ii) seek to understand and explore different approaches to tool development and delivery relating to measuring and mitigating citizens' feelings of insecurity. The workshop will enable the focus and scope for requirements capture research in WP5 to be defined.

2.6.4 Report writing

Writing and publication of report: State of the art in measuring and mitigating citizens' feelings of insecurity (D2.6)

Task leader: USAL (Caroline Davey)

Effort: USAL: 1.0; DSP: 0.5; RUG: 0.5; NPN: 0.2; GMP: 0.2; PJP: 0.2; CML: 0.2; LKA: 0.5; INT: 0.5; DPTI: 0.2; EFUS: 0.5



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